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ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST
AND
UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL,
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JOINT UN/UNESCO SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION IN THE ECAFE REGION

Jointly sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs and the Secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, in co-operation with the International Labour Office

8 - 18 August 1956
Bangkok, Thailand

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON AGENDA ITEM 2: 10 August 1956

by
Mr John H.G. Pierson,
Director of Research and Planning Division, ECAFE Secretariat

Mr Subba Rao will be the actual rapporteur and introduce the subject, summarizing the document he has prepared and suggesting topics for discussion. I would only like to make two points that I think we ought to keep fully in mind in the course of discussing this item and the other items to follow. Both have to do with the time element.

When we talk about the effects or implications of urbanization - economic effects or social effects or any others - it is essential for clear thinking that we distinguish sharply between two different things. One is the specific effects of concentration of population in urban areas. The other is the general effects of population growth plus advance of ideas - you might call it the quantitative and

/the qualitative

the qualitative change in the population (though I hesitate to use a phrase like that in the presence of so many sociologists). We must keep our time perspective. What we should compare with today's or tomorrow's pattern of urbanization is some conceivable alternative pattern with the same population, not the alternative pattern we remember with yesterday's population. Otherwise we will tend to go wrong in our analysis.

I grew up mostly in a city myself - a big city, New York - but I liked the country better when I was a boy. That doesn't mean it is possible to go back to it. Of course, just the kind of country that I remember is no longer there because the population along the Atlantic seaboard of the US is now too big, no matter how you distribute it. Putting sentiment aside, since the clock cannot be turned back, the question is simply one of alternative ways of spreading the still bigger population of the future over that same territory.

This has conclusions in a number of different fields, but one of the important economic conclusions has to do with the large economic and social infrastructure investments required in big cities - electricity, transport, water supply, sewage disposal, schools, hospitals, recreation facilities, and the rest, housing of course included. There is no doubt that these costs tend to be quite staggering, and that the sheer inability of most cities to keep up with the need for these basic facilities is responsible for much of the misery that large populations in urban slums of Asia and many other parts of the world have to endure. Yet, to be fair, we must ask ourselves how much of this infrastructure requirement would really be avoided were the same large populations more evenly spread out - taking into account not the environment of yesterday but modern ideas, techniques and mobility. Once we have decided that today's ingenuity and today's demands are here to stay, it may be that we will even discover that in the long run the way to economize on the cost of infrastructure is to concentrate it in large cities. Or perhaps there would not be much difference in these costs one way or the other. At least the question should be asked.

/Here again

Here again the time dimension is important, in a different way. In discussing the short run, when the burden of infrastructure or overhead costs is greater in cities if only because needs when piled-up together become too obvious to ignore, as they can still be largely ignored for a while in the traditional countryside, we should be careful to keep in focus too the longer-run comparison. In the longer run, as poverty is overcome by society's increased productivity, we can expect that the really required costs will be recognized as such both in city and in country, and that the costs seen to be required will actually be able to be afforded and will be met. So, in our long-term planning about the question of concentration in urban areas as such, as distinct from our long-term planning for economic development generally, the merits and demerits of urbanism can perhaps be viewed less in terms of relative costs and more in terms of relative advantages - economic, social and aesthetic.

To sum up, what I am suggesting is that I think it will help very much if we can succeed, during our present analysis of the facts, in keeping the effects of urbanization as such separate and distinct from the effects of population growth and modernization in general, and if we can also, during our later discussion of policies, keep the remedies that may be required by urbanization as such separate and distinct from the remedies required to cure poverty and economic under-development in general.

Statement by Mr G.V. Subba Rao, ECAFE Secretariat

I.

Basic to the understanding of the economic aspects of the process of urbanization are two propositions.

Economic development, based on the technology of the past as well as the one which presently obtains, results almost invariably in an accentuation of the process of urbanization. Briefly the reasons for this are: economic development implies a change in the occupational structure of the working force towards non-agricultural activities. Non-agriculturism, or industrialization as we may call it, is not as space-oriented as agriculture. When we examine

/the theories

the theories of economic specialization and spatial distribution of economic activities and hence of population, the link between economies of specialization on the one hand and economies of localization becomes very clear. What are usually referred to by economists as external economies could at the same time be looked upon as economies of localization. As much as there is a gain in efficiency due to the expansion of the size of the firm, there is also a similar gain in the juxtaposition of producing units if these are related by what are called economies of industrial linkage. These benefits of localization apply as much to small units of production as to large factories. Thus there are enduring economic benefits if production processes are agglomerated together.

Secondly, more than the development of secondary industry, the growth of tertiary, or residentiary, industry almost always implies the concentration of several servicing activities in urban areas. However, it should be noted that the preponderance of tertiary industries in urban areas of several countries of Asia does not represent the evolution of these economies from a secondary to a tertiary basis - movement identified as progressive in the long run - but signifies the growth of marginal employment and low-productive service industries, especially retail trading and domestic services.

Related to these points is the other proposition that urbanization in almost all countries in the early stages of modern economic development has generally tended to grow at a faster pace than population growth or growth of the economy. The enlargement and growth of the money exchange and commercial economy of pre-industrial societies itself implies a growth in population centres devoted to the processing and servicing activities based on the exchange of production between the interior and the ports and other break-of-bulk points and between the countryside and the towns.

Again, at least two stages can be distinguished in the industrial phase. In early stages, industrialization has generally come to concentrate on the development of consumer goods and light industries. These are more market and labour oriented than raw material or power oriented. As such these industries tend to be attracted to existing urban centres for furthering their growth and specialization. Thus industrialization, oriented towards the development of light and consumer goods industries, tends to accentuate

/the growth

the growth of the existing urban centres. In the second phase of industrialization, the development of heavy industries, based on the metal-fuel-raw material complex, tends to get away from the location pattern of the pre-industrial and the initial industrial phase and will generally give rise to the growth of new towns based on raw material resources in the interior. In several countries of Asia all these three or four factors are now simultaneously operative, thus accelerating the process of urbanization.

The fact that urbanization has generally tended to move ahead of economic development has several implications for the Asian economies, especially when these are embarking on programmes of economic and industrial development. It means that, as the process of economic development catches on, the demand for the provision of urban economic and social infrastructure investment grows much more rapidly than the growth of several other sectors. This in town means that demands for less productive projects (in the immediate sense) will be made on the scarce capital resources of these economies right in the early stages of their development. These infrastructure investments come to fruition only as economic development activities reach a tempo such as to utilize these overheads to the fullest extent. Thus these countries face in the early crucial stages of industrialization, that is, when they try to get off dead centre, certain disadvantageous factors influencing the allocation of scarce capital resources. This burden is similar to the so-called demographic burden that several under-developed countries are expected to face in the transitionary stages of economic and industrial development. This demographic burden as you know is caused by the expected widening of the gap between the death rate and the birth rate. The death rate decreases faster than the birth rate and until the eventual equilibrium at a lower level is established, a comparative transitionary burden is imposed on this score.

It is of course possible to skimp on the creation of these economic and social infrastructure investments in the initial stages of industrialization. But this skimping can be done only if a minimum body of such infrastructure facilities already exists, and we know that such a minimum body does not exist in most of the economies of Asia. The infrastructure question clearly has a bearing on whether fresh industrial and economic development projects should be

located in

located in the existing urban centres or whether it would be better to create them in new townships based on new developments. This is, to some extent, however, an artificial choice because older urban centres are themselves starved of these infrastructure facilities. Any overstraining on this score may be disastrous and will of course in any case result in accentuation of urban slums and squalor and congestion and in the burden on the transport, drainage and other facilities.

II.

With these general remarks I come to discuss the specific Asian situation before us. It is probably true to say that Asia is over-urbanized in relation to its degree of economic development. At comparable levels of urbanization, the developed countries of today had a correspondingly greater proportion of their labour force engaged in non-agricultural occupations. In that sense, Asia can be said to be relatively over-urbanized. The pace of urbanization, especially in the last decade, has far exceeded the growth rate of economies of Asia.

Several economic and non-economic causes have contributed to this situation of relative over-urbanization. Firstly, on the economic side, there is the push factor. The stagnancy of Asian economic development in the context of a colonial and semi-colonial setting has had the following consequences. The opening up of these economies meant, the penetration of cheap imported manufactured goods from abroad, leading to a steep decline in traditional non-agricultural occupations. Again in the feudal and semi-feudal setting of several Asian countries, the pressure on land resulted in a gradual pauperization of the peasantry and growth of an agricultural labouring class which started looking for alternative employment in cities and towns.

Thus in contrast to the situation in the earlier stages of industrialization of some developed countries of today, the volume of rural-urban migration has become relatively high in countries of Asia and this was of course not strictly dictated by the avenues of industrial and other productive employment opportunities opened up in the urban area.

Though generally the push factor predominated, the pull factor of urban centres also operated to a limited extent; this pull factor is reflected in the limited economic development based largely on a colonial or a semi-colonial pattern. The pull was to the administrative centres port towns and other transport and break-of-bulk points. More generally the pull factor was to the big city resulting

/in what Gras

in what Gras termed the "primate city" with areas of economic dominance. In the recent period, however, economic and industrial development is being accelerated and a new set of towns in the interior is growing up.

The implications of relative over-urbanization of several Asian countries should be carefully analysed. An excessive volume of rural-urban migration and consequent over-urbanization of these countries may not last for long. An overstraining and breakdown of the relief function of cities may bring the process to a halt. Or alternatively an accelerated and more rational pattern of economic development in both urban and rural areas may restore a healthy equilibrium between the two. In the transition, however, urban misery and rural poverty exist side by side with the result that the city can hardly be called "dynamic" as social historians of developed countries generally described the process of urbanization; both unemployment in the urban area and the under-employment in the rural areas reflect the same factor, namely the economic under-development of these countries in relation to the potential human and physical resources at the disposal of these countries. It may sound paradoxical, but in the over-populated agrarian economies of Asia: it appears to be planned and rapid industrialization that can provide the most effective remedy in the long run for urban and rural unemployment.

III.

It is suggested that we should undertake to answer the following questions concerning the evolution of Asian economic and industrial growth on the one hand and the pattern of urbanization of Asia on the other.

(a) How far is Asian urbanization associated with economic development?

(b) Has urbanization kept pace with or exceeded the economic growth or the industrial growth of the economies in Asia?

(c) Is it possible to establish the fact of any important pulls from the city based on increased economic opportunities (whether or not they are strictly <u>industrial</u> opportunities) or is the main factor the push from the countryside because of lack of expanding opportunities in the economy as a whole?

(d) How has the shift from a largely subsistence and barter economy to a commercial and subsequently to an industrial pattern of development, noticeable in recent years, affected the growth of urban centres? Has this shift tended to reinforce the effect of the other causes?

About the perspectives for the urbanization process two questions can be posed in this context. The first one deals with the long-run problem. Is urbanization a necessary concomitant of industrialization or are there effective economic alternatives for the ordering of economic activities in a de-centralized or at least less concentrated pattern? And what are the technological perspectives for facilitating such alternatives?

In the short run the problems become pressing. The economic burden of the past, namely the slums and squalor, diseases and poverty that currently prevail in several Asian cities, demand immediate attention. Economic remedial measures will have to be improvised if the situation is not to go out of hand. Here the question of utilization of surplus manpower in urban areas becomes relevant.

Summary of Discussion

Viet-Nam

The participant from Viet-Nam stated that urban population in Viet-Nam increased four-fold in the last decade or so. This growth in urban population was not based on economic or industrial developments in the urban areas.

The policy of the Government of Viet-Nam in recent years had been for the de-congestion of urban areas. The Government is planning the strengthening of the economic base of some of the medium towns by developing industrial co-operatives, handicraft centres and new industrial complexes.

Pakistan

The participant from Pakistan referred to the dilemma between economic growth on one side and employment considerations on the other. In view of the under-employment prevailing in several countries of Asia, this dilemma affected very much the short-term economic policy of the governments concerned.

In tackling the problem of urbanization in the long run adequate attention should be paid to the development of rural areas as well as rationalizing the growth of urban areas.

Sarawak

The participant from Sarawak stated that the chief problem of Sarawak was opening up the interior through the development of communications. Increased agricultural productivity is also important. At present there is no urban unemployment and the chief problem in the growing urban centres is efficient town planning.

France

The participant from France stated that attention should be paid to analysing the pattern of urban incomes, urban levels of savings and urban consumption. Consideration relating to levels of savings in urban areas would be of great importance to the formation of capital necessary for creating economic and social infrastructures in urban areas.

/Related to these

Related to these are several policy questions. Should urbanization be spread in a number of towns or is it economically desirable to work for concentration of industrial and economic complexes in a few well chosen urban centres? Should the process of urbanization be controlled, guided and planned or is it better to leave it to the forces of the free market? Urbanization is an extremely costly process; especially is this so in relation to urban land development. In the transition from agricultural to an industrial economy what should be the pattern of industrial development so as to influence the trend of urbanization? Should the emphasis be on processing and other primary industries?

Indonesia

The representative from Indonesia drew attention to some of the economic consequences of the urbanization process. So-called "employment" in urban areas, as in Djakarta, was of a marginal type. Generally speaking, money income was much higher in urban areas than in industrial areas. However, it was not certain that real income was also comparatively higher. Urbanization had several co consequences for the pattern of consumption in urban areas. In Indonesia people in urban areas were better clothed though not better fed.

United States of America

The representative from the United States stated that in America the choice some years back was between building new cities and rebuilding and expanding the old cities, and it was the latter course of action that was favoured. Recently, however, the emphasis has shifted to de-population the big cities through the development of suburban centres. He felt that under-developed countries would be better advised to concentrate on development of new cities based on new economic developments rather than embark on the costly process of rebuilding and expanding the old cities.

India

The participant from India pointed out that further studies on the question of development of urban areas in relation to types and scale of industries would be very worthwhile. There was a powerful socio-political

/movement for

movement for restraining the growth of urbanization and for emphasizing decentralized industrial development in small towns and large villages. Attention was drawn to the Bhoodan movement and other measures for the strengthening of the rural economy as a factor tending to a restrain the unplanned drift to urban areas. The second Five-Year Plan, it appears, assumes a lower rate of urbanization than in the previous decade.

ILO

The representative from ILO questioned the thesis that the urban process, as experienced in ECAFE countries, had had any beneficial implications in changing the economic motivation of people undergoing such a transition.

The General Rapporteur

Mr Hauser pointed out that there were basically three considerations relating to the economic aspects of urbanization: (1) There is a decreasing land-man ratio in several Asian countries, some of which are experiencing and are likely to experience in the future a very rapid population growth. (2) Urbanization implies certain demands on the capital resources of a country. It also implies changes in the savings propensity. As such its implications for the apportionment of the scarce capital resources of the economy need careful study. In this context it would be useful to consider the relative costs of urbanization in relation to alternative patterns of socio-economic development. (3) While in the immediate future one may reasonably expect deceleration in the rates of urbanization, it would not be realistic to assume that urbanization can be avoided. Economic development almost necessarily implies growth in urbanization.

UNESCO

Mr Veroluys pointed to the generally high cost of city growth. He emphasized that the growth of cities is very much dependent on growth of agricultural productivity; there is a definite inter-relationship between agriculture and industry and between the town and the country. A careful study of the costs of urbanization and rural urban economic relationships would be of considerable interest. Research into the problem of service cost per head in urban areas as against rural areas should be more thoroughly explored.

United Nation Bureau of Social Affairs

Mr Weissmann added that one should not look at urbanization as a liability. Urban populations can be a valuable economic resource. We should explore ways and means of utilizing this great asset.

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NOTE

To help in assessing the main causes and economic implications of the process of urbanization in Asian countries, a simple, informal questionnaire was circulated to participants of the Seminar. Replies were received from participants from 7 countries of the region. The answers to this questionnaire may be summarized briefly as follows: (1) All the respondents agreed that money incomes are higher on the average in urban than in rural areas. (2) All but one agreed that, on balance, the drift of people to urban areas has been motivated more by economic factors than by non-economic factors. (3) All felt that employment in urban areas of the region is not primarily in secondary industries. Except for two, who were not sure, the respondents indicated that tertiary industry predominates in urban areas. (4) All except two agreed that the consumption pattern in urban areas is distinctively different from that in rural areas; the two negative answers on this question moreover appeared to represent special interpretations or circumstances. (5) Answers to the question whether urbanization in the countries concerned appears to have been due more to "pull" factors than to "push" factors, or vice versa, did not lend themselves to a simple generalization. Some respondents felt that "pull" factors predominated while some others emphasized "push" factors. One respondent stressed both social "pull" factors and economic "push" factors. (6) A similar divergence (and uncertainty) of opinion was noticeable on the anwers to the question whether real incomes are higher or not, in urban than in rural areas. (7) Responses to the question whether the rate of savings is higher or lower in urban than in rural areas were similarly divided or unsure.

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RAPPORTEUR'S SUMMARY REPORT - ITEM 3(b)

(Mr. J.D.N. Versluys)

CHANGE IN TRADITIONAL ARTS AND CRAFTS AND FORMS OF CULTURAL ENJOYMENT

It was felt that the subject was actually too large to be dealt with satisfactorily in the little time available. The points raised could be mentioned only without going deeper into the problems.

It was pointed out that traditional art was utilitarian and that art for its own sake did not exist. The words "artisan" and "artist" still show the original situation when tools and utensils were made by a craftsman who often was an artist. In some places this same combination is still to be found, e.g. weavers of beautifully coloured though coarse Timor cloth (Indonesia), or of the finest silk sarees in Banaras (India).

/ What is

What is the influence of modern articles mechanically produced in masses on those hand made articles? In many cases it is found that the mass produced articles become very popular, not only because they are cheap, but also because of the glamourous colours and smooth finish. Those are features which in many cases cannot be achieved by indigenous techniques, and are therefore attractive. It is interesting to note that the weavers in Timor like to add a few machine made trends of hard green or purple yarn to their hand spun and hand woven cloths the yarn of which is normally coloured by themselves with dyes made out of certain roots and leaves. This may not seem an improvement to the Western observer who admires the beautiful pattern and wonderful colour combination of the cloth made with purely indigenous material.

When two cultures come into contact some acculturation always takes place. It will depend on their relative strength what the result will be. If the new culture is strong the old one may seem to disappear altogether although some trends of the original culture will practically always be visible. It is also possible that the new culture has only very little impact and is influenced by the original culture. Or these may be an appreciable mutual influences. An interesting remark of the last situation may be found in Bali (Indonesia) where the Balinese sculptors and painters have adopted features of modern Western art whereas they, in their turn, had a strong influence on the Western artists living in Bali.

When we speak of acculturation we usually think of Western influence on Eastern culture. However, it is very probable that there will be an increasing influence of one Asian culture affecting another. This is a new development, as the cultural contacts used to be nearly exclusively with Western countries.

A conscious effort to a blending of cultures was made by Tagore in the first part of this century. Eastern and Western motives were used together and it was tried to attain a higher unity by doing so. Even now a number of Indian painters make such an endeavour. The problem really is to express themselves and their admiration for Indian culture at the same time.

/For Asian

For Asian painters the problem is harder than the other artists, because they have been trained mostly in a Western culture which may easily result in a feeling of standing between two cultures and lack of belonging.

It is understandable that in a period of acculturation confusion of values will easily occur. But it is most probable that really strong cultural values, although perhaps influenced by foreign culture, will largely remain the same. The Indian delegate mentioned the strong position of his culture which had not been deeply affected by foreign influences. Indian music and dancing are highly developed and warmly appreciated by the Indian public. In Viet-Nam the position both of the traditional and the so-called reformed music is also very strong. The same holds true for Indonesia although these music and dance performances as well as those of the wajang[1] have become much shorter. The well-known Javanese batiks regularly show new patterns and adopt themselves to changes in taste.

A special place is taken by Ayurvedic and Unani medicine in the Indian sub-continent. Although Western medicine has supplanted these forms of medicine, at least to a large extent in towns and cities, they are still very vital in the country side. In fact, homeopathy was known in India long before Hahnemouni propagated it in the West, and some features of these medical arts might be usefully adopted by Western medicine, the Indian delegate believed.

It is understandable that most governments try to preserve traditional arts and, at the same time, to propagate the use of articles produced by handicrafts. Diversity of cultures is one of the riches of mankind, and it would be a gloom prospect if we had to live in a one-culture world. However, if the traditional arts and crafts have no force to maintain themselves, they cannot be saved either by government help. On the other hand, it has been proved in many cases that a craft which seemed doomed could be revitalized by suitable assistance and propaganda. The post-war boom in Thai silk which has now a good export market to the United States of America, is a clear example. Government help in the sales of handicraft products has also been

/valuable for

1/ There are different kinds of wajang; the three most important ones are the wajang Kulit (puppet theatre with leather puppets whose shadows play on a screen), wajang golèk (puppet theatre) and wajang wong (drama in which actors perform).

valuable for the maintenance of a group of craftsmen who would otherwise have been out of work. Nevertheless, it seems that handicrafts will only have a lasting place in the economy of a country when they produce really well made, artistic products with which the machine cannot compete.

The influence of the city is probably most vividly visible in the mass recreation, especially the cinema. It was reported from practically all the countries of Asia that the cinema enjoyed an even increasing popularity. But it was also generally recognized that the films shown left very much to be desired. Imported films were generally of a low cultural level, but the indigenous films were no better. India with a very important production of films (third in the world) and exporting films to a number of countries in Asia, has not yet succeeded in reaching a culturally acceptable level. The same complaint came from Japan where foreign films were only popular in the towns and not in the country side where exclusively Japanese films were shown.

The position of the indigenous arts serving mass recreation is different, as music and drama are generally of a better level than films, but deterioration of music, especially film music, is also noted.

New forms of recreation like sports, particularly football, have become very popular in various Asian countries. But indigenous sports can still hold their own.

Relatively novel forms of recreation like visiting museums and public libraries are still largely limited to the cities, although there are a number of village reading rooms and a few library services which reach remote villages by sending books in iron trunks from one place to another. There is a very great demand for reading matter. The example of the Delhi Public Library, mentioned in paper URB/4 shows that there is a nearly unlimited hunger for books. And it is interesting to note that museums which do not charge on admission fee can always be sure of numerous visitors. This ought to bring about some change in the organization of museums which are still largely catering for the intellectural elite. By giving more and more simple explanations in the vernaculum it should be tried to bring the objects shown nearer to the public.

It is a general trend it may be expected that the countries of Asia will have to follow the example of the West, namely, more and more commercialized recreation, with a decrease in participants and an increase in spectators.

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RAPPORTEUR'S SUMMARY REPORT - ITEM 3(c)

Prepared by Mr. P.N. Prabhu

Human and social aspects of urbanization in Asia

Item 3(c) Effects of urbanization upon family life and the status of different family members

The proceedings were opened by the Rapporteur Dr. P. PRABHU with a brief introduction. He drew the attention of the members to the relative documentation, namely URB/7, and to two other documents, viz. "Processes and Problems of Industrialization in Under-developed Countries" published by the United Nations, and Professor Hauser's introductory paper all of which together contained some important points for discussion as follows:

1) The sheer magnitude of the populations undergoing rapid industrialization and urbanization multiplies and complicates the problems of the family.

2) There of course local differences in these problems even within the same country like India because of variations in the environmental context.

/3) It is

3) It is extremely difficult to obtain factual or statistical data on the subject apart from a very limited number of local studies based on impressions of observers.

4) In the two largest countries of Asia, namely China and India, the prevailing family is an extended or joint one encompassing a number of successive generations and with a strong, generally patriarchal, head. But in Indonesia and Thailand there was a smaller family unit.

5) Socially, the welfare of the aged and the handicapped, the care of the sick, the performance of certain religious rites, and educational functions have been a family responsibility.

6) The family is also a productive unit for the support of all its members; but with the loss of this fundamental economic function other roles of the family are also affected. Married couples established the smaller independent units and the husband and the wife may live far away from their respective parents' original homes. Parents, parents-in-law, unmarried and widowed brothers and sisters, uncles, aunts, etc. tend to be excluded more and more from the family household.

7) Added to this, is the housing problem in the towns which limits the number of the family members who can live together.

8) Education, entertainment and the many emotional satisfactions available in a large well-knit family have to be provided for by outside associations. And this is an extremely difficult task.

9) Urban life and industrial occupation may have its own attractive features. On the other hand, the repelling features of the village are poverty and the pressure of population on the land. Therefore migration to towns is largely a flight from rural poverty.

10) However, the urbanized villagers have in their hearts a great love for their village places and environment and therefore seek every opportunity and excuse to run back to their villages in between periods of occupation and earning in the city. This is particularly so when most of the migrants leave their wives and children in the villages. But this kind of constant flux of workers between towns and villages constitutes a tremendous handicap in industrial progress.

/11) However,

11) However, this flux helps to spread knowledge of urban life and modern ways to the rural population. (DR. PRABHU added that it also keeps the urban migrant closely in touch with the rural ways and ideas and to that extent he rarely becomes a completely urbanized individual).

12) Because of the fact that in urbanization the principal bread-winner of the family has to live away from his family, the very concept of the "family" has undergone changes. This situation is certainly disruptive of family life. The wife and children are deprived of those forms of emotional security that a husband and a father can provide. However, the wife is the most affected person, whereas the children are not so much affected. Usually they draw upon the sympathy and affection of the mother, the grand-parents and almost all other elderly members of the family. One of the most disruptive consequences of separation between the husband and the wife is the instability of the urban family owing to the number of deserted mothers and abandoned children.

13) Urbanization involves importation from abroad of new ideas, such as, the rights of women, individualism, "modernism" etc. which also tend to undermine the close unity and strength of the traditional family.

14) However, there are several situations where migration of the bread-winner from the village to the city has also added to the status therefore the strength of the family. It is usual to find the individual migrant being deeply attached to the family members and the home in the village, sending most of his earnings back to the village home to build up a house for the family, buy lands there, and so forth.

/15) When the

15) When the entire conjugal family, that is the husband, wife and children move to the town, all of them face the consequences of the impact of urbanization directly. These consequences will depend upon the physical, environmental and other conditions in their respective locations in the town.

16) It is generally accepted that urbanization has improved the status of women, reduced the despotism of the family head and brought the husband and wife closer than before. However, the urban wife has lost the specific status and the functions, such as they were in the rural tradition.

17) In the city there are a large number of new influences: the schools, the city-bred contemporaries, the media of mass information, the movies, the stage, the variety of recreational occupations including gang formations, etc. Some of these tend to produce friction in parent-child relationship. It must be remembered that though the father is technically now closer to the children, he works by the clock and is outside the home for the major part of the day, and the children are mostly left to themselves during the period. Sometimes the mother also works and this makes the situation worse.

18) Separation and divorce are more likely in an urban setting.

19) Psychologically, death has the most shocking effect, sometimes traumatic, on city children because it often means that their only support in the world is gone.

20) It must be said, however, that in the East the village is becoming increasingly urbanized and the towns have many rural features.

/21) Urbanized

21) Urbanized conditions give rise to severe social and particularly mental problems of maladjustment and to meet these problems, the city has given rise to certain institutions to provide for physical facilities and social services. However, the expansion of the town is unplanned and the rate of expansion is much faster than these facilities and services can be provided. There is therefore great need for planning of cities - planning the physical conditions of the towns, industries, their even spread in different towns, the suburbs and their development, housing arrangements, location of social services in different parts of the city, and so forth.

22) Planning is also required to take care of unemployment, sickness, old-age, widowhood and other disabilities.

23) The above includes a number of economic, social, as well as psychological factors. In addition, there are various psychological satisfactions and rewards connected with the family celebrations of religious ceremonies and rituals such as birth, marriages, festivies and funerals. Also the question of recreation, use of leisure time and communication is important.

To these points emerging from the documentation, Dr. Prabhu added the following points for consideration:

1) The question of child labour is assuming great significance. It has been suggested that after all exploiting child labour in the city is only a continuation of the exploitation of child labour in the village agricultural farm. But there was really a great difference in the two. In the latter case, the child worked on the farm of the family and its efforts were directly connected with its own living; and the fruit of the effort, the produce, was directly useable by the family. Also, the work did not go by the clock. There was some kind of convenience of each worker which could be taken into account for some kind of adjustment. There were no rigid rules of attendance at work, leave, wage-cut, and so forth. On the contrary, in the city the child's work was characterised by considerable impersonality. He was bound by the rigid rules of hours of work, leave and so forth. He was never concerned with the production itself. He only earned money which was expected to help him in buying the goods and services required by him.

2) The question of the loss of traditional forms of social control through the family has its own ramifications. Unless other forms of social control are properly devised as substitutes there will be problems of vagrancy, delinquency and a host of others.

3) In some cases a new pattern of family is emerging in some of the Asiatic countries. It may be called the "industrialist family". A family owns a large number of industrial concerns. These are distributed to different members of the family on semi-individual ownership basis. That is, the largest number of shares are owned in each of these industries by one or the other member of the family. This prevents the emergence of capable and sound industrial leadership, and in its turn results in lack of progress of industrialization.

/4) It is

4) It is usual to find among ruralites a certain spirit of contentedness. But the cities engender a keen spirit of competition. It is but natural that such a spirit of competition will lead to constant stresses and strains and anxiety in the city dwellers.

5) Some of the cherished aspects of ruralites' value system have been rudely shaken by urbanization. For example, generally in Asiatic countries the profession of teaching and learning have been placed at extremely high premium. The wealthiest man in India in a village would rise up in honour of a teacher to welcome him even though this teacher is invariably the poorest in the locality. Our views in this connection have gone topsy turvey owing to the influence of urbanization.

6) Similarly the question of respect to age. Since everything is measured in terms of capacity to earn, even the elderly people who are nearest of kin, like the parents, may lose the respect and attention of the younger generation. The elders who are incapable of earning may be looked upon as burden on the family's economic recources.

DR. BARLINGAY (INDIA) drew the attention of the members to the fact that the Hindu joint family contained not only three or four generations of blood relations but all other dependents like the servants, etc, in the family for all practicable purposes. This included also the lame, the aged, the diseased, the handicapped, etc. whether they were related by blood or not to the family. He also pointed out that the Indian Parliament is revising the Hindu Law in regard to the various disabilities which women had, so far as property and other individual rights were concerned.

PROFESSOR ISOMURA (JAPAN) pointed out that the family situation in urban and rural conditions represents quite a great difference in Japan. Apart from the question of size of the family there is the problem of finding suitable accommodation for the family in the city and therefore most of the members of the family are left behind in the village. In a trial study he made on the changing attitude of the younger generation, two years ago, it was found that nearly 90 per cent of new high school students felt that they should be independent after their marriage from their parents. In the case of college students this percentage was still higher, but in the rural area only 45 per cent of the students held this idea. One of the consequences of urbanization has been that people migrating from the same village tend to cluster together in the city because they find some amount of security and protection in living together in a strange city. This gives rise to slums in the Japanese cities. About two million poor people throughout Japan are receiving aid of Public

/Assistance.

Assistance. In some of the extremely northern parts of Japan like the cities of Tokyo and Osaka the percentage is still higher. These people live in tenement houses which are all of very old type and the environment is conducive of immorality and vices.

The member from PAKISTAN pointed out that the State must provide certain basic social services like security of subsistence, old age pension, care for the deprived children and so forth. People young and old are drawn to criminal behaviour very often, not because they like it, but because they have no other way or means of satisfying their immediate and urgent needs.

The member from VIET-NAM pointed out that the environment of urbanization of family varies according to the region in Viet-Nam. In the north there is the old joint family and therefore the problem of urbanization is somewhat greater than in the south. However, the joint family in Viet-Nam is somewhat different than what it is in some other parts of Asia. The bonds that join the members to the joint family together are ancestor worship and are more or less sentimental. There is no economic bond. Therefore emigration from the village to the town does not cause any particular disruption to the family. However, during the last few years mass emigration caused separation of husband and wife or other members of the family. Yet there was no particular economic difference.

/Dr. A. RAPORT

Dr A. RAPORT, Observer for CIUSS said that one of the main concerns of the Organization he represented is the social plight of those who have left their native village to go and live in a town. They have often been called "rootless". That is true both when they leave their village, thus severing a number of very close bonds, and when they arrive in the town, where they find it very often extremely difficult to adjust and find a new stable and normal situation. One might even say that the social position of the new urban inhabitant is worse than that of the villager that he used to be. This is true of the normal urbanization process, induced by the hope of better conditions of life and better salaries. But it is even more so when urban conglomeration is the result of accidental and temporary circumstances.

Referring to those countries in which he had spent the last three years, Dr. RAPORT observed that urbanization was caused to an important degree over the last ten years by the desire to save one's life and protect one's family, in spite of the loss of formerly stable means of subsistence and of the family property. Such an increase of urban areas is not a natural phenomenon: it does not correspond to new needs of the city and merely complicates its administration. When such is the case, one may wonder whether it would not be preferable, rather than attempt to settle this excess population in the towns, to prepare and encourage its return to the native soil which temporarily became inhospitable.

Continuing, Dr. Raport said that this may well be one of the cases where industrialization need not be considered as a necessary feature of urban development. For the excess population very often has no particular capacities for the industrial life, and no great desire to adopt it. Further, there is a grave risk that increased industrialization may not produce sufficient results to justify the indispensable public or private outlay to ensure its promotion. Moreover, the family unit projected in an urban setting by the peculiar circumstances of the last ten years finds assimilation

/ difficult and

difficult and continues to harbour centrifugal tendencies which it will tend to follow at the first good opportunity. But in the meanwhile, those incidental immigrants remain "second-class" citizens. This applies also to their children,-whose moral and social education may be seriously impaired.

In brief, added Dr. Raport, we believe that special attention should be given to the nature and causes of emigration from rural areas to the towns, for if in normal conditions absorption within the urban industrial system may be the natural solution, in emergencies such as those which occurred in several countries of the region a return to the native soil appears to be a better method of preserving the integrity and social value of the family unit.

Mrs. BACOBO (FAO REPRESENTATIVE) submitted the following statement:

Nutrition and Home Economics in relation to Urbanization

The urbanization of rural populations obviously affects all aspects of life. In the present paper its influence on food consumption and nutrition will be briefly considered, with special reference to the urbanization which is now taking place rapidly in many under-developed countries. Some of the problems in the field of home economics associated with urbanization will also be discussed.

With respect to food consumption and nutrition, there are various important questions for study, which include the following: What changes for better or worse take place in the diets of rural people when they move to urban areas? What can be done to ensure that any increase in their purchasing power really results in their obtaining a more nutritious diet? What other special measures, such as supplementary feeding, can contribute to the improvement of nutrition?

Unfortunately very little relevant data on the dietary changes which follow urbanization are at present available. A significant rise in per caput income normally leads to an increase in food consumption and in particular a greater consumption of foods of high nutritive value such as animal products, fruits and vegetables. On the other hand, changes which are less desirable from the nutritional standpoint may also take place; people may discard traditional dietary habits in favour of more "sophisticated" diets which are defective in various respects. The increased consumption of foods such as highly milled cereals, sugar and fats, and of beverages such as tea and coffee and alcoholic drinks, which is usually characteristic of the process of urbanization, influence the composition of the diet as a whole. During the early period of industrialization in the West there was much malnutrition among urban populations because they consumed diets deficient in various essential nutrients.

/ Some comments

Some comments on food consumption trends in Japan may be of interest. Japan is the most highly urbanized and industrialized country in East Asia and may serve as a pointer to future developments in other areas which are still under-developed. In a period of only eight years, from 1930/31 to 1938/39, there were increases in the per caput consumption of milk, meat, sugar fats and tea ranging from 13 to nearly 40 per cent. More direct evidence of the effects of urbanization is also available from the national nutrition surveys conducted annually in Japan since 1946. Calorie intakes have been slightly lower in urban than in rural areas, possibly because of the more sedentary character of urban living, which is reflected in a somewhat smaller consumption of basic energy-yielding foods such as cereals and potatoes. The consumption of protein-rich foods and other foods of the more expensive kinds, however, is higher in urban than in rural areas. In the three-year period 1951-1953, the consumption of the following foods was found to be higher in towns than in the rural areas:

Milk and milk products	90% higher	Fruit	39% higher
Meat	157% "	Sugar	25% "
Eggs	65% "	Oils and fats	42% "
Fish	21% "		

Diet surveys in a few other countries also point to similar trends in food consumption. For instance, a comparision of the diets of different sections of the Indian population, based on surveys in the period 1935-48, shows that the percentage of total calorie intake derived from fish, meat, fruits, vegetables, sugar, oils and fats was appreciably higher in each case for industrial than for agricultural workers.

These and other available examples indicate that the present trend towards a greater degree of urbanization, associated with the efforts of

/ the governments

the governments to speed up industrialization as a means of raising national income, should lead eventually to an increased consumption of the more expensive "protective foods" as well as other foods such as sugar and fats and beverages such as coffee and tea. But, as pointed out above, urbanization, whether accompanied or not by higher incomes, does not always lead to nutritional improvement. On the contrary, there are several instances to show that, in the absence of necessary measures to safeguard nutrition, the diets of rural people can quickly deteriorate when they move to urban centres. This was shown, for example, by surveys carried out among the Bantu in the Union of South Africa. With urbanization the normal Bantu rural diet of whole grain cereals and milk is often replaced by one based on refined maize meal, white bread and mineral water. Efforts are being made to spread education in nutrition among the urban Bantu to counteract these tendencies.

Another example is the increasing incidence of beriberi, a serious deficiency disease, with the spread of rice mills producing highly milled and polished but vitamin-deficient white rice. Many rural people who normally consume more nutritious home pounded rice shift to milled white rice when they move to industrialized or urban areas. Thus the danger of increasing malnutrition, especially among the newly urbanized population, is very real. There are some indications that protein malnutrition is a more important problem among such groups than among rural populations.

Further surveys of different kinds are needed to provide more adequate information on the effect of urbanization on diet. It is important that these should be undertaken without delay, particularly in those parts of the world in which urbanization is now taking place rapidly. Trained nutrition workers are needed to plan and carry out investigations of this nature and to interpret their results.

/ Educational

Educational measures, and other nutritional measures such as supplementary feeding programmes for mothers and children, will help to ensure that the trend towards greater urbanization in many under-developed countries will not lead to a deterioration in nutrition but rather to improvement. A significant factor is that rural diets are based mostly on foods produced by the people themselves, whereas urban diets consist largely of purchased foods. Guidance to people on how to spend wisely the money available for buying food is therefore most valuable, especially in the initial stages of the transition from rural to urban living.

Urbanization is a social phenomenon of special interest to professional workers whose activities have a bearing on the adjustment of individuals and families to new conditions of living. This includes the home economist whose work is concerned with education in matters relating to home and family life.

Home economics has as its chief objective the improvement of conditions of family living and the promotion of the well-being and happiness of individual members of the family. The home economics teacher in an urban community, or the extension worker in a rural area, needs therefore to be aware of the many ways in which urbanization may influence and change the economic and social background which, in large measure, determines family welfare.

Urbanization, with industrial development, may be brought about by internal migration, i.e. the movement of people from one area to another within a given country. During the period of modern industrial development, the prevailing movement has been from agricultural to non-agricultural industries - from the farm and agricultural village to the industrial town or city.

The industrialization of rural communities is a more recent development and tends in general to be more characteristic of already highly industrialized countries with relatively high levels of living.

/ The rapid

The rapid growth of many modern urban communities has also been made possible by the movement of large numbers of individuals across national boundaries. One of the most interesting aspects of recent migration of this nature has been the trend away from "group" or "clan" migration which characterized the movements of people when society was organized on a kinship basis. To a large extent the newer type of individual and family migration has been made possible by the greater degree of uniformity of civilization (social organization), and the recognition by the community that the "foreign" individual can perform some useful service even though he does not "belong".

Since urban communities tend to attract individuals and families when they are relatively young and in their most productive years, the birth rate of such communities is usually high. As the economic and social status of the various emigrants becomes stabilized, the birth rate tends to decline. In general, there is an inverse relation between socio-economic status and the size of the family.

The home economist is concerned with the motives which prompt the individual to move into an urban area and the extend to which these motives are being satisfied. In general, the dominant motive is the desire to improve economic status by finding better opportunities for work. Comparatively few people who are reasonably well satisfied with their economic position move to new towns or cities or to new homes within a city. Those who do expect the urban area to provide them with a better standard of living and more economic security than they have known before. They tend to be restless and critical, as well as disappointed, if this does not happen. Many urban communities contain, therefore, a relatively high proportion of people who are struggling to adjust themselves to new situations and to achieve a different way of life. If the adjustments are many and difficult, individuals often show instability in conduct with subsequent unfortunate effects upon the family group.

Adequate and suitable housing is a problem of major importance in many urban communities. Families are frequently crowded into living accomodation

/which is

which is too small to allow for health and well-being. The home economist can help families to make the best possible use of available space and to construct or purchase simple pieces of equipment which will promote comfort and convenience.

Economic adjustments are frequently amongst the most immediate and urgent adjustments which individuals and families have to make. In urban communities the management of family resources presents special problems. One of the major needs is to educate families to spend money wisely and to appreciate the relative value of the array of consumer goods available. Information and guidance on the selection and purchase of these are needed.

Such education should be part of a broader approach to the "economic management" of the urban home. Since in urban communities several members of the family may be earning, more ready cash will be available than previously. The home economist can help families to understand the importance of managing their income, of planning relevent expenditures for housing, food, clothing, education, savings, etc., and of avoiding the economic insecurity often created by instalment buying and spending beyond their income. Such education is especially needed by families which are moving from rural communities where they were able to produce much of the food needed and to make for themselves articles of personal clothing and simple home equipment. It is often difficult for such families to accept the fact that they must now spend hard earned cash on such staple foods as rice, wheat, vegetables and fruits, milk, eggs, etc., which they formerly raised on their own land. In Uganda, for example, rural people rarely spend money on food - "Food just grows; money should be saved for other things which nature does not offer as gifts."1/

Buying and preparing food present special problems in the urban community. The mother of the home may not be familiar with the foods available

/in the city

1/ Roberts, Lydia, J. Report on Home Economics Education and Related Programs in the British Protectorate of Uganda. FAO. February 1956.

in the city market nor know how to use these to advantage. She may also not be accustomed to the equipment of an urban home and find it difficult to use. The home economist can assist by offering educational classes in diet and nutrition, and demonstrations of simple and sound methods of preparing family meals.

The high percentage of working mothers in industrial and other urban communities involving the absence of the mother from the home during much of the day, creates special problems for family members, especially for children. The home economist can help parents to understand these problems and to minimize their adverse effects through introducing better housekeeping practices and simplifying housekeeping tasks.

In order that the home economist can make an effective contribution, the effects of urbanization on family life must be fully studied and understood. This calls for carefully conducted studies of the social type which will indicate the most pressing problems which newly industrialized populations have to face and suggest how they can be solved. There is a great need for such studies in many parts of the world.

FAO is concerned both with the improvement of nutrition and with the development of satisfactory home economic programs in its member countries. With respect to the former, it assists governments to make dietary surveys, to develop supplementary feeding along sound lines, and to undertake programs of education in nutrition.

Assistance is given to countries in developing home economics teaching institutions, with curricula adapted to the needs of the country concerned, and in initiating demonstration home projects in selected areas. The FAO home economics program is interlinked with its work in agricultural extension and rural welfare and also with related activities of other United Nations organizations such as, for example, le Community Development Program of the United Nations.

/Winding up

Winding up the discussion, PROFESSOR HAUSER (General Rapporteur) said that in all countries family has been and is even today the basic social institution, but in the East it is much more so in many countries because it has been the big joint one. In modern days the industrialized and urbanized family tends to lose gradually many of its former functions. Though it has lost its function as an economic productive unit, it still remains a consumer unit. The experience of USA, with its small unit families, is that the rate of increase in the number of families is greater than the rate of population. This has implications for housing programmes. Other countries who are now in the process of increasing their number of small unit families can profit by the American experience in regard to housing. Though the family has lost its original recreational, educational, affectional and cultural functions, in reality these have been greatly modified. It still remains the basic unit, the cultural instrument by which the child is socialized, acquires character, and is moulded psychologically. Hence, in all planning, family must be given careful attention though from different angles now than before. The substitutes for the family today in certain respects are the policemen, the court, the remand homes, the children's aid society, the maternity welfare organizations, the family welfare agencies, and so forth. These must be properly planned in numbers and in quality. Urbanization involves the breakdown of the traditional morals, cultural background, etc. and the creation of new social institutions, social order, etc. and therefore results in a number of conflicts, inner and outer, for the individual. All these will have to be carefully attended to in planning.

FOR PARTICIPANTS ONLY

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AND
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JOINT UN/UNESCO SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION IN THE ECAFE REGION

Jointly sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs and the Secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, in co-operation with the International Labour Office

8-18 August 1956
Bangkok, Thailand

Report on Item 4(4) of the Agenda

SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL AND LABOUR POLICY POINTS

Prepared by Mr. A.F.M. Abdul Hag

1. What is the relation between the foreshadowed growth of population in the urban centres over the next ten years and the growth of educational facilities, primary, secondary and vocational?

2. Is the available demographic data sufficient for the purpose of making the necessary assessment under 1.? If not what are the minimum additional requirements?

3. Is the distinction made between temporary and permanent migrants and are the facilities adjusted accordingly?

/4. Is provision

4. Is provision made in the school facilities and curricula to deal with the special problems of the children of rural migrants?

5. Do the adult educational facilities make special provision for rural migrants and are steps taken to draw their attention to these facilities on their arrival?

6. In the curricula and methods of teaching of rural immigrants is regard paid to:

(i) the high prevailing level of illiteracy among them;

(ii) problems of language where the urban language is different from the rural dialect;

(iii) the need to provide the kind of simple general education that is basic to the vocational possibilities available locally in industry or services;

(iv) the difference of speed of response between town dwellers and rural people;

(v) the understanding by the immigrant of the demands and facilities provided by urban life; its advantages and dangers;

(vi) the need for rural entrants into industry to adapt themselves psychologically to fixed working hours and factory life;

(vii) changes in diet and distribution of family budget required by city life.

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8-18 August 1956
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PROBLEMS OF CRIME AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
[Item 3(d)]

Summary of Discussion

Prepared by

ECAFE Division of Social Affairs

For consideration of Item 3(d) of the agenda, the seminar had before it the document entitled "Urbanization and Crime and Delinquency in Asia and the Far East" (UNESCO/SS/CONF.URB/12, E/CN.11/URB/12) prepared by the Bureau of Social Affairs of the United Nations.

There was general consensus that adult crime and especially juvenile delinquency were intimately associated with the process of urbanization and that a number of countries of the region had already become seriously concerned at the proportions of the problem. In some instances, as pointed out by the representative of Indonesia in respect of his own country, the problem is not yet acute but certainly signs of potential difficulty have appeared already.

/The extent

The extent to which criminality results directly from the urbanization process was discussed and there was a general agreement that while a number of factors contributed to the genesis of criminal behaviours, the unsettling nature of urbanization contributed heavily to those social conditions and patterns of behaviour which produced crime and delinquency. At the same time, it was emphasized, especially by the delegate of India, that certain types of crime, or at least certain kinds of social abuse closely akin to crime, were being outlawed under the impact of the urbanization process.

The seminar recognized that the rural migrant on entering the urban life left behind him family influences and controls for which he could find no counterpart in urban life. He is, moreover, faced with new and often conflicting sets of values many of which are not in harmony with his rural background. He is also exposed to material advantages which are out of his reach. Out of this bewilderment, frustration and lack of guidance, the individual man acquires false values leading to crime and delinquency.

In the first wave of migration from the rural areas to the city, there is a preponderence of unattached males. This preponderance of unattached males contributes directly to the problem of prostitution which is a serious one in the large urban areas of Asia. Subsequent migrations are characterized by the preponderance of women and children. This does not, however, have the effect, as might be supposed, of re-establishing family life, partly because the time gap interferes with the established patterns, partly because the women must seek employment outside the home in order to supplement the family's marginal income and partly because the parents are not able to provide the guidance and supervision of the children which was possible in the simpler village societies where activities were centred around family agricultural activities and where members of the extended family could be called upon to assist in the up-bringing of the children.

/The economic

The economic position of the newly arrived rural migrant is a disadvantaged one. Sizeable migrations produce a glut on the employment market and the recently arrived migrant generally does not have the kind of occupational skill needed in the urban centre. He is generally restricted to casual labour which is poorly paid and offers little or no security. He generally must accept the least desirable housing and occupies the lowest place in urban society with respect to goods and services. The types of occupation available to women very often expose them to moral hazard; moreover, prostitution is a relatively lucrative source of income and is, therefore, tempting. The children must also work and either compete in the labour market against adults or take borderline jobs which expose them to corruption.

In addition, the rural migrant arriving in the city enters a culture which reflects certain established criminal patterns. He is little qualified to cope with them. Not only is he victimized but children especially are exploited and, in fact, recruited for begging, stealing, especially pick-pocketing, and above all prostitution.

It was brought out in the seminar that the sudden shift of population from rural areas to urban centres did not of itself necessarily produce crim nor could the industrialization process, per se, be regarded as a direct causative factor. What was critical, however, was the fact that social patterns which generally characterize urbanization and industrialization, namely, great shifts in social standards, break-down of traditional controls and lack of recognized authority contributed to crime. It was pointed out, particularly by the delegate of France, that parental neglect appeared to be a principal cause in juvenile delinquency. Parental neglect might take place under any circumstances; under the impact of urbanization, however, parental neglect was particularly prevalent.

Rural areas were reported to be essentially free from crime. Nevertheless, with the impact of the urban culture upon rural areas themselves there was a probability that criminality might extend to these areas as well. In contrast, it was apparent that in some of the large urban centers of Asia, significant segments of the population remained almost isolated from the urban culture and were thus more or less impervious to disorganizing factors of urban living. This, it was not correct to assume that the villagers had already made a sucessful transition to urban living on the basis of mere physical residence there for a number of years. In fact, it might be said that, from a sociological point of view,

/ they continue

they continue to live in rural communities within the metropolitan centre. The pressing question was, therefore, what might be the impact when the urban culture truly permeated their lives.

The question was raised whether Asian countries must be resigned to accept as inevitable a high rate of criminality as the price to be paid for urbanization. This has been characteristic of urban development in the western countries. Must it be repeated in Asian countries undergoing rapid economic development accompanied by social change? On this, there was divergence of opinion. One contention was that social breakdown and social conflict with accompanying higher crime rates was inevitable and that countries must be ready to provide extensive programmes of social protection and social rehabilitation for offenders, including probation, juvenile courts, modern adult and juvenile institutions and the like. It was further suggested that these services might be thought of as being the urban equivalent of the social sanctions which provided the necessary control in rural settings.

On the other hand, the question was raised whether certain factors characteristic of Asian countries today might not contribute significantly to bridging the gap from rural life to a successful urban adjustment. One possible factor would be the general devotion to religion which was capable of providing the binding force and social control and stability needed in the transition. In this connection, reference was made to certain of the UNESCO studies on the social implications of industrialization and urbanization in which it was found that the urban life of the recently arrived migrant was characterized by a distinct increase in religious devotion. This was, of course, in contrast to western urban patterns where decreased religious activity was the case.

Another factor which might provide a force of a stability and unity was the high degree of nationalism prevailent in a majority of Asian countries. The identification with the aspiration of the countries as a whole might provide solidarity and purposefulness as a strength for urban adjustment. A third factor could be the orientation of the governments of the Asian countries toward the concept of the welfare state in which government was regarded as imtimately concerned with the well-being of each individual and responsible for the social progress and social protection of all. In connection with any consideration of factors in Asian life which might result in less criminality in Asia than ordinarily expected, the representative of the World Federation for Mental Health referred to preliminary findings of research in Thailand which

/suggested that

suggested that reaction to frustration and emotional conflict resulted more in symptoms of neurotic anxiety and psychosomatic complaints than in overt aggressive behavior. Were these preliminary findings to be sustained and were they to have wide applicability, there would be great implications concerning the amount of criminality and juvenile delinquency to be anticipated in the future.

Moreover, Asian countries are in a position today to study the social programmes which have proved effective in the western countries in combating crimes and other forms of social disintegration and to adapt them to their needs.

Should the countries of the region rely primarily on providing sweeping programmes of social services to combat crime? Such an approach was seen to have great handicaps. In the first instance, it is questionable whether broad social welfare programmes could be afforded at this point in the development of Asian countries. Indeed, it was very few countries of the west, including the most prosperous ones, who felt satisfied that they had been able to provide all the social services necessary. Secondly, the national resources channelled into such programmes must inevitably then be withheld from other programmes of social and economic development. Finally, it was not too harsh to say that such programmes dealing with the adult and juvenile offenders were ameliorative at best.

Many of the general policies in connection with rapid urbanization apparently bear quite directly upon the problem of preventing crime. These include the deceleration of the urbanization process by providing to rural areas those facilities and opportunities which the ruralites, especially the youth, were seeking when they left the village for the city. Moreover, the rural migrant must be prepared for urban living and the urban centre must be prepared to receive him. In this connection reference was made to programmes deliberately aimed at maintaining the contact of the individual with his village, so that effective social controls familiar to him could be carried into urban living.

Finally, it was pointed out that for there adequately to be a comprehensive programme of crime prevention, it was not enough to rely upon a multiplicity of social services unrelated, directly, to crime. Chile welfare activities, housing developments etc. were important in themselves, but could not suffice in combating crime. The direct approach to the problem required independent action aimed not only at co-ordinating these services, but also in developing a specialized approach of its own.

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STATEMENT BY THE CHIEF DELEGATE OF INDONESIA

Agenda Item 4(3)

Mr. Chairman,

First of all I would like to announce my great esteem for all working papers in connection with this item. The working paper of Catherine Bauer, who I had the honour to make acquaintance with when I visited the United States last year, is a masterpiece which is worthwhile studying.

I am also very much impressed by the introduction given by Dr Weissmann.

/Mr. Chairman,

Mr. Chairman,

I am pleased to find an opportunity to address you on the topic of townplanning we have to carry out in our country. I sincerely hope that what I want to say may be useful to you to get an idea about our activities and the problems we have to encounter.

As I said at the first session of this seminar we have learned by experience that most of the difficulties we have to surmount are rather of economical and not so much of technical nature. There are still unfavourable social and economical circumstances causing a drag on the realization of urban extension, town-improvement and housing schemes. Therefore we firstly should have to overcome these economical difficulties before we may expect fair results of our exertion spent on townplanning activities.

There is still much area we have to overtake. This is concerned with slum rehabilitation, road improvement, and in general way the housing for the lower and middle class. The state of things was during the pre-war period, as far as concerned with the housing of the lower class, already crying to Heaven. One could not easily build his dwelling because of lack of funds and because of the fact that there was regularly shortage of land within the town boundaries.

As luck would have it, initiative has been taken to consider housing and townplanning as connected problems. These allied problems were discussed during the first housing congress in 1921. From that moment onwards a few municipalities were by degrees gaining an insight into these matters and started carrying out town-planning activities.

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There are basic principles which we have to follow when planning Indonesian towns. Indonesian towns have to maintain an own character which is not comparable with European patterns. Imitation will be useless and will not suit the real wants of the Indonesian people.

I think it is not an error of judgement to embrace the opinion that townplanning may be useful and even urgent when firstly aiming at improvement of the social condition and not so much aiming at purely and simply civic design

As a matter of fact, we firstly need accommodation. Lack of space will be undoubtedly a handicap for building whatever the sort of building may be.

Especially in countries where there is overspill of population this handicap will be badly felt. Therefore we have considered the use-zoning as main principle upon which townplanning should be based. The second main principle we are inclined to carry through is the adaption of townplanning standards and building by-law to the social condition and the economical capabilities of the po;ulation groups.

For that purpose we have to set up differentiation not only as regards the destination and the kind of building as well as the social and economical character of building. Use-zones are drawn up as accommodation on behalf of housing, industrial settlement, trading settlement and the settlement of public buildings. Further, differentiation is carried through concerning the housing-patterns in connection with the aforesaid social and economical character; then we differentiate housing of the low class and the middle class. This differentiation applies to the architectural character as well as to the volume of building and the dimension of building-plots. In this connection also standards of floor-space and open space need to be differentiated.

It is self-evident that further regulations too, for instance the building by-law, need to be co-ordimted in accordance with above-mentioned differentiation.

/In this way

In this way we may expect that realizing of the plans will be practicable and fit in with the social and economical condition of each social group. Moreover we have to adapt to the tradition of existing social groups as the Indonesian people consist of so many kinds of social groups, while each group prefers maintaining its own customs.

Beside the above-mentioned factors we have also to take into account existing kinds of land tenure. Because of the large variety of the sort of land tenure so proceedings of conveyance of land-ownership cannot often be smoothly performed. Consequently building up by use-zoning regulated sites will be slackened. In our country there is still a large variety of land tenure which is based on existing regional customary laws and there are also several kinds of landownership according to laws of the past pre-war rule which up to now have not yet been withdrawn. This sort of land tenure also forms an obstacle.

The Indonesian government is now hard at work at making new laws concerning land tenure but as long as this legislation has not yet been finished there will still be much stagnation of realizing the planned improvements.

At any rate, we have to foresee difficulties of that kind and have to overtake them too. For that purpose several municipalities have established authorities which are charged with the preparation to the provision of arable land to meet to needs of building-sites. That sort of publicly conducted undertaking must be based on fair social principle and not so much on gaining profits. It may be self-supporting. Such an authority may obtain the needed stock of lands by agreement or if it is not possible then by compulsory purchase. It is obvious that the lands to be purchased for that purpose must be collected just in the agricultural area quite near the town bounderies in order to gain low-priced lands.

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The local authority for land supply will also have the opportunity to realize development roads and other sorts of site amenities, as then the expenses can partly be transfered to the account of the selling-price of the ratable value of the land. This is meant to be an indirect local assessment. Such an undertaking may also counteract speculation activities of estate agents.

It is evident, that this land supply is needing co-ordination with the townplanning, particularly with regard to the adaption to economical capabilities. There will be also needed differentiation of the sell-prices of the lands, so that each group can obtain building-site within its economical limits..

The area which is administered by this local authority for land supply must be available to the purpose of planned town-extension. Therefore that area is to be fit to the general use-zoning plan.

I have briefly mentioned the principles upon which townplanning in our country is based.

In the following I would like to inform you the ways of implementing our townplanning.

1. SURVEY

Because of lack of the needed survey-organization and the needed experts, such as sociologists and other experts who are specialized on this sort of work, we are still not capable to manage survey as it used to be carried out.

We can carry out geographical survey and topographical survey far enough, because we have the disposal of the needed organizations. Therefore we are capable to produce suitable maps.

However, land register is not yet complete, for only proprietary rights are registered. Other sorts of ownership are not registered.

Social survey as far as concerned with demography is not possible to be carried out as there has been no census in Indonesia since 1930. Since then, only estimates have been made with regards to post-war figures.

I do hope that the coming census in 1960 will give the townplanner the necessary figures and data.

/Economical data

Economical data are available but need to be compiled on behalf of the townplanning. We need the arrangement of local authorities which can be charged with the compilation of the economical data. By now we have only a central statistic bureau which is managed by several departments.

It is urgent that each municipality has its own fit organization for statistics and survey. As it is up to now still missing we can draw conclusion but roughly from incomplete data.

2. PLANS

The planning is carried out through making plans of successive degrees, namely:

a. Preliminary master plan, indicating provisory road system and provisory use zoning;
Scale 1 : 50.000; 1 : 25.000; 1 : 10.000;

b. Master-plan, indicating the main lines of the design of the use zoning, included the road system. In this plan the building-plotting is not yet fixed:
Scale 1 : 50.000; 1 : 25.000; 1 : 10.000;

c. Detail plan, indicating the plan details of one neighbourhood unit, also indicating precisely the fixed use-zoning inclusive the street-lines and the building-lines. In this plan the building-plotting is not yet fixed;
Scale 1 : 2.000; 1 : 1.000; 1 : 500.

d. Development plan, indicating the building-plotting of one neighbourhood unit; scale 1 : 2.000; 1 : 1.000; 1 : 500.

e. Road cross section, indicating the fixed street profiles;

f. Notations on behalf of the master plan and the detail plan;

g. Explanatory appendix on behalf of the master plan;

h. Explanatory appendix on behalf of the detail plan;

/3. ORDINANCES

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a. Building by-law;

b. Local ordinances supplying statutory backing to above-mentioned plans;

c. Local ordinance prescribing special assessment on account of betterment.

A general ordinance which comes into force in 1948 with regard to townplanning has been issued by the government. According to this ordinance autonomous territories can be forced to draw up regulations and plans. A special section of the Ministry of Public Works, the Town and Country Planning Department exercises the supervision there-upon.

Indeed, up to now we have not yet gained the desired results, however results are not missing at all.

It may be said that the condition of several towns might have been worse, if townplanning has not been taken in hand in good time.

The condition of some big towns, is so to speak rather acceptable because townplanning has been there started early.

We have also planned a satellite town, which alleviates the pressing housing shortage of crowded Djacarta.

Mr. Chairman, please allow me a few more minutes for making it clearer and more visual by showing you a master plan of a normal small town in Indonesia, which has recently been designed.

The existing town had a population of about 20.000 in 1930, which was doubled in 1950, with all its consequences. Moreover this town has been raised from a district-capital to a regency-capital, which demands the necessary public buildings, schools and, not to be forgotten, houses for civil servants and the common people. So this town ought to be extended and for this purpose, at least for the first ten years to come, land has been chosen north of the existing town. As I said before a master plan is a plan of zoning, namely red with black stripes is the public building zone, red only is the cultural zone, purple is trade and commerce zone, green is open-space zone (sportfields, parks and the like), and the rest is the residential zone. May I come into more details, especially about the public building zone and the cultural zone. Predominant is the group of buildings in the centre, consisting of the regency-council, being a legislative institute, the main executive offices, the regency-court and last the police. In this group of buildings you may recognize the reversed "trias politica", the symbol of democracy, which is one of the five principles on which the Republic of Indonesia is based.

The cultural centre consists of the dwelling of the chief of the regency with, on his left, the mosque facing the kaaba in Mecca. (In cities where christianity is predominant, a church will take this place). On the right is the library which may be combined with the possibilities for cultural performances. This library is surrounded by school buildings, among which a field for sport activities.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to finish this show by telling you that this plan, like all plans should be, has mostly grown out of discussions with all people concerned.

Finally Mr. Chairman, a few words about regional planning. I could say that nothing has been done in this field in Indonesia, although we are

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quite aware of its importance. In 1949, a committee was created by the Government, which was designated to study the regional planning. In 1951, the committee was able to present the Government a draught of a regional planning ordinance. Unfortunately this concept has no reached the parliament yet, since it is still being studied and examined.

In connection with the matter of regional planning policies I have 3 questions in my mind.

1. Is it possible politically to develop regional policies?
2. If so, what should these policies control - location of industry, location of towns, development of natural resources?
3. How should such policies fit into the national policies for the development of a country?

I know that these aspects take one out of the purely urbanization field, but in my view, a policy which does not take any regard to the national economy, or to take the town in relation to the region, will not in the long run succeed.

Mr. Chairman, I am very glad to learn from Dr. Weissmann in his introduction, that a Conference will be held in 1957 to discuss the field of regional planning. I am quite sure that such a conference will be of considerable value. I hope I would be able to present a humble statement and ideas on this from the point of view of Indonesia. And finally I hope I would be able to join that conference.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman